

The FORUM

Vol. III No. 18 20 Sept - 4 Oct 1988 Fortnightly New Delhi Rupees Two

Gazette

Unilateral Decisions, Please!

On the eve of the Prime Minister's visit to Punjab, Lt. Gen. J.S. Aurora, president, Sikh Forum, has written him a letter drawing his attention to expectations in Punjab. Gen. Aurora has stressed the need for long-term honest political initiative for a meaningful solution of the Punjab problem.
Text of the letter:

Dear Prime Minister,
You are visiting Punjab on 21 September. Rightly or wrongly hopes are building up that you may make a new policy statement while over there to resolve the present highly unsatisfactory and ever deteriorating situation in that State. If so, I sincerely hope that it will not be limited to further measures to strengthen the law and order machinery and some economic concessions only. How so ever important these steps may be, they alone will not smoothen the ruffled tempers, leave alone solve the problem.

Even at the cost of repeating myself *ad infinitum*, I would urge you to give due consideration to the deeply hurt sentiments and grave loss of faith of the people of the Punjab in your government's intention to be fair, sincere and undiscriminatory in finding an honourable and just solution. Here, I would like to draw your attention to the statement issued by the Punjab Group after its meeting on 2 September with which two Members of Parliament of your party, who attended the meeting, were in agreement. Of particular significance are the following points:-

a) The overwhelming majority of

the people of Punjab, including Sikhs in all parts of the country, are not for Khalistan and are firmly opposed to mindless terrorist violence and State repression. Nor are they communally divided. Only a tiny minority has been trying to exploit these issues, but in vain.

b) President's rule has not ensured peace or assisted a settlement in Punjab. It has become counter-productive by arresting the political process which must be revived.

c) Pakistani intervention is the consequence and not the cause of the Punjab problem although it has now become a major aggravation. But it would be unwise to await an end to Pakistani involvement before conceding the possibility of a dialogue and settlement in Punjab. Indeed, a just settlement would render any Pakistani involvement totally ineffective in short measure.

d) The Punjab problem is not a

Sikh issue. It is a national issue that involves concerns and affects every Indian and the common national good.

e) The government should convene at the earliest a national round table conference of all parties and other concerned groups and individuals to consider the Punjab Question and how to heal the wounds.

I would like to stress that you should take certain unilateral decisions to re-establish faith and confidence amongst the people. These are; to punish the guilty of the November 1984 killings and to release the innocent now incarcerated in Jodhpur and other jails. You may well consider announcing a general amnesty based on assurance of respect for national integrity.

Mr Prime Minister, for the last many years the common man is being ground between two millstones, the militants on one side

and the unsympathetic and dishonest elements of the police force on the other. In spite of it, he has not lost his equanimity. He, however, does blame you for his suffering. Only by winning his trust you can hope to get his active co-operation and participation to control and defeat terrorism. With the present estranged and alienated population you cannot do so in spite of all your efforts.

I have been dismayed to find that the police in the Punjab, with the knowledge of the highest authority, has been using criminal gangs as killer squads, known as Alam Sena, in its efforts to eliminate the militants. Whatever the effectiveness of this amoral scheme, it has certainly further eroded the credibility of your government and the psychological and moral gains of the operation "Black Thunder" have been completely vitiated. It has cost the lives of two police officers and possibly has given a fillip to smuggling,

bank robberies and other nefarious activities. Lastly, is it in keeping with what Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation, preached and practised about means and ends, and you have quoted this recently in your address on the Golden Jubilee Function of the National Herald on 9 September 1988?

The present situation in the Punjab is highly snarled and has to be unravelled strand by strand with patience and unwavering determination. It can be resolved only if you gain moral ascendancy over the militants and win the confidence and cooperation of the people by fair, just and sympathetic means. Massive state suppressive measures may subjugate militancy temporarily, but leaves scars of bitterness and resentment and is never a permanent solution.

With regards.

16 September 1988,
New Delhi.

Whither Janta Party

By H.G. Deshpande

Singh seems to be motivated by attempts to forge a Jat-Thakur alliance in UP and Bihar. This also serves the purpose of diluting Devi Lal's ambitions. On the other hand Hegde and his supporters seem to be apprehensive of continuation of Hindi heartland's domination in the country's political affairs whether that is of the ruling party or the opposition. Though no leader or group has raised such caste or regional issues openly, the make up of groups makes things somewhat dear.

Fragmented Forces

One is surprised by each motivation in view of the fact that in March 1977 Janata victory had conclusively proved that the Congress' ability to win elections on the basis of a minority vote could only prevail so long as the non-

Congress parties were unable to combine in alliance and people were prepared to vote on issues than on caste or communal considerations. Yet leaders continue to work for steady fragmentation and proliferation of political forces.

Needless to say this makes the struggle of the masses, who are thrown into it by the very logic of the economic and political conditions, fragmented and thus weak. It is, therefore, expected that those who understand and feel concerned will not be silent spectators of Janata crisis but will effectively intervene to overcome trends towards fragmentation and to seek to unite all the struggles of the oppressed masses.

—See edit

In this Issue

	Page
✦ Trauma Of India's Contemporary Phase	3
✦ When They Contest Elections	4
✦ Partition Of Minds	5
✦ Banning Cannot Stop Our Struggle	6
✦ A Community In Dilemma	7
✦ Defamation Bill: Bad, Black, Backward-looking	8
✦ Concept of "Miri" And "Piri"	13
✦ Nepal's Citizenship Problem	16
✦ Plus: All Our Regular Features	

Though efforts to defuse Janata crisis are on, there is no indication of any softening of attitudes on either side. Both the Ajit Singh-Chandrashekhar and Hegde-Dandavate groups continue to blame each other for calling conventions while justifying conventions called by each-self.

Only on September 15, Mr Ajit Singh wrote a letter to Prof. Madhu Dandavate defending the September 23 meet and asking him to persuade his friends to call off September 30 convention at Bangalore. Mr Ajit Singh in his letter has once again described this convention as illegal, politically immoral and wholly against opposition unity.

Early, in a letter to the party general secretary, Mr Haribesh Bahadur, who called the September 23 meeting on behalf of the party president, Mr Ajit Singh, and six senior party leaders including Mr Rama Krishna Hegde, Mr Biju Patnaik and Mr Jaipal Reddy had demanded withdrawal of the call for

that meeting describing the claimed national executive as a "non-existing body".

Towards Split

The Janata Party thus seems to be heading for a split with differences sharpening between the Ajit Singh-Chandrashekhar group and the R.K. Hegde, Madhu Dandavate, Biju Patnaik and George Fernandes group. Hegde's group is eager to terminate merger of the Janata with the Lok Dal (A) and thus dispense with Ajit Singh. This move, it is understood, is also aimed at building pressure on Chandrashekhar who has been opposing the merger of the party into the Samajwadi Janata Dal.

It seems personality, caste and regional factors are at the forefront again. Chandrashekhar's keenness to project Ajit Singh as party president who has no other qualifications except being the son of UP Jat strongman Ch. Charan

Letters

Narrow Considerations

This has reference to your article 'Back To Emergency' by Baiju (THE FORUM GAZETTE, September 5-19, 1988). The author has been correct in stating that most of the opposition parties abstained from criticising the 59th Amendment at the beginning and it was only because of religious consideration. Our political parties must be able to relinquish all these narrow considerations on the basis of caste, religion, creed, etc. This attitude is the most unfortunate aspect of the Indian polity.

Barring a few leftist parties, all the other parties which claim to be national ones are really regional ones or have regional outlooks. The Congress (I) could never think of a leader from some other parts of the country than the Hindi heartland. Even, this is the case with the Janata Party, too.

How can we make progress in the field of national integrity and unity if our leaders' credentials are like this?

Religion has also been one of the most important decision-making factors. The most recent of the evidences was the blind support given to the 59th Amendment by the opposition parties. At the beginning almost all the parties supported the Amendment without realizing the dubious designs behind it.

Calcutta Harish Gupta

Dictatorial Attitude

Your cover story 'Back To Emergency' (September 5-19, 1988) has been timely and revealing. Rajiv government which came to power only because of the sym-

pathy votes of the uneducated masses has never been matured enough to rule the country. Its decisions as well as policies have always been premature and poor. When Rajiv took the decision to drop Mr A.P. Venkateshwaran from the Foreign Affairs Secretaryship, we all thought that it was a minor incident and believed that a person of his stature could never have such bad or low-classed intentions. The people have

started realizing his real colour only after the throwing away of V.P. Singh, Arif Mohd. Khan, Arun Nehru and Arjun Singh.

Now the whole country is fully convinced of his dictatorial attitude as his actions culminated in the 59th Amendment.

Bombay John Samuel

Thanks For Publishing

Thank you for publishing 'what The Times of India did not publish' (THE FORUM GAZETTE, September 5-19, 1988). Mr Surindra Mathur's article, The Pastiche That Is India, has been one-sided and at many points he failed to explain his remarks. But Mr Amrik Singh with his indepth knowledge of the

subject has succeeded in making the points, which Mr Mathur failed to elaborate, clear.

I still wonder why The Times of India refused to publish Mr Amrik Singh's reply article! Newspapers should not be governed by vested interests. They should bring out all the different viewpoints and put them in front of the readers for criticism and open consideration.

New Delhi A.C.M. Nazer

Most Unfortunate

I was surprised to read Mr Asgher Ali Engineer's article, Marriage And Communalism' (THE FORUM GAZETTE, September 5-19, 1988). What has been more pathetic was the role played by the police.

The incident has been very unfortunate. What do we mean by a secular, welfare state? Don't the citizens have the right to marry a partner of his/her own choice? Why the government does not intervene in such incidents?

I hope your author will provide the readers with another article explaining the current position of the happening.

New Delhi Ashok Singh



Sound And Fury

If freedom of the Press is jeopardised in any way, our democracy will be weakened. There is no question of reducing this freedom.

- Mr Rajiv Gandhi

The Defamation Bill is dead, if not buried.

- The Hindustan Times

The (Defamation) Bill is not yet dead, far from it. At best you can describe its condition as that of a comatose patient.

- Union Home Ministry official quoted in The Indian Post

The (Defamation) Bill is defamatory of our judicial-system.

- Mr Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer.

We did not bulldoze or rush through this Bill.

- Mr Rajiv Gandhi

Have faith in Rajiv. He is the only leader of the Opposition today.

- Arun Shourie in the Indian Express.

Whatever Subramaniam Swamy and others in the Opposition are doing to help the Congress (I) has been neutralized by the Defamation Bill.

- K. R. Sundar Rajan in The Sunday Observer.

He (Mr Subramaniam Swamy) serves whoever feeds him.

- Mr Ramakrishna Hegde.

They (the Congress (I)) appoint Chief Minister, the Janta elects them.

- Mr S. R. Bommai.

There is no democracy in West Bengal.

- Mr Priya Ranjan Das Munshi.

I thought he (Mr Hegde) was amongst the cleverest politicians in the country but now I find he was a stupid fool.

- Mr Madhu Limaye

In a country where black money to the tune of Rs 40,000 crores is generated every year and that, too, in the hands of only 40,000 people, it is certain that the affairs of such a country will be largely controlled by black money only.

- Mr Vasant Sathe.

The truth has been nationalized.

- Professor Madhu Dandavate.

Opposition unity is a real threat to rootless people like Rajiv Gandhi.

- Mr Devi Lal

The National Front is "national" only in name.

- Jay Dubashi in Organiser

The Congress Party has been in existence for 100 years but the Opposition parties have not had unity for even 100 days.

- Mr Rajiv Gandhi

I am a very humble politician. I am not an impediment in the way of Opposition unity.

- Mr Chandrashekhar.

My fight is not for power.

- Mr H.N. Bahuguna

Opposition leaders are more interested in setting their claims to be Ministers.

- Dr Farooq Abdullah

Managing Editor
Amrik Singh

General Manager
Lt. Col. Manohar Singh (Retd.)

Editors
A.S. Narang
Gian Singh Sandhu

Assistant Editor
KH Nazeer (Baiju)

Layout
Gulshan
Rajan Pathak

Publishers
Ekta Trust
2/26, Sarva Priya Vihar
New Delhi-110016
Ph. 660738

Editorial, Business
and Circulation Offices
3, Masjid Road, Jangpura
New Delhi-110014
Ph. 619284

NEWSHOUND



by Rap



The
FORUM
Gazette

- Minority Rights
- Civil Liberties
- Equality for women
- Democratic Values
- Environmental Protection

Obnoxious Bills

For the past several weeks, everybody has been criticising the Defamation Bill, and rightly so. It is obnoxious in every sense of the word. It takes us back to a form of censorship which will, perhaps, be even worse than what obtained during the Emergency. We are with all those who oppose the Bill.

However, we would like to add that this Bill is the culmination of the process which started with the Anti-Terrorist Act passed some two years ago. Most people then thought that it was directed against the terrorists. It was. But it also had another target. That was the civil liberties of the Indian citizens. Most of them were of the view that this Act did not concern them. Clearly they were in the wrong. That particular Act was only a 'curtain raiser' to what has happened now. Civil liberties were in danger even then "only some people refused to read the writing on the wall".

Then followed several other obnoxious bills. There was the 59th Amendment Act, a new amendment to the Industrial Disputes Act and the Hospitals and other Institutions Bills. Only the 59th Amendment has been passed while the other two are still pending. The trend, however, is clear. The Civil liberties of citizens should be extinguished and a kind of controlled and oppressive society be established. The Defamation Bill is the latest in the series.

It is not necessary to analyse the provisions of this Bill. The whole conception of it is wrong and objectionable. That is why journalists and most others have taken the position that the Bill must be withdrawn. To discuss it in any manner would amount to accepting that such a bill was or is needed. The honest fact is that such a bill is not needed. That is why both the government and the journalists have taken irreconcilable positions. What next? It is difficult to say. The Prime Minister has taken the position that were he to withdraw the Bill it would be a loss of face for him. The journalists, too, have more or less the same attitude. Obviously there is no meeting ground between them.

In the opinion of most well-informed people, the stalemate is likely to continue for sometime. Meanwhile, efforts would be made by the government to divide the ranks of the journalists so that at least some of them talk to the government and give it a pretext to wriggle out of the difficult situation. May be the government succeeds in this game. Those who choose to talk to the government will lose face with their friends and colleagues. Despite this danger, some persons who do not have any representative capacity may come forward to risk the disapproval and wrath of their colleagues.

Whether this happens or not, one thing is definite. With every day that passes, the Prime Minister losses in terms of standing and prestige. Without question, he made a mistake in not getting off the hot tin roof once he found that the opposition to the Bill was almost unanimous. That was the moment to drop the Bill. Having once missed that chance, he does not know how to get out of the muddle. That is the misfortune. And that is also the opportunity for those who want him to go out of power.

National Front

After the premature birth of Samajwadi Janata Dal in August this year, now the National Front of seven parties has been launched while in view of the fact that Congress has, in general, won majority of seats (not majority of votes) primarily because of divided opposition. Any attempt to consolidate opposition is welcome but at the same time Janata experience of 1977-1979 also suggests that mere anti-Congress stand is not enough to provide a stable alternative.

What one finds on glancing through the Front's proclaimed 71-point programme is that it lacks any firm commitment or coherence in terms of ideology or programme. Its attempt to provide something for everybody speaks that, at least for the time being, Front's entire political colour is determined by a purely anti-Rajiv, anti-Congress(I) stand.

In addition, various constituent parties of the front are facing internal turmoil. Events in Janata Party and Lok Dal are not encouraging. No one knows what is the fate of Samajwadi Janata Dal. Towards which direction all this lead, no one knows. If at all any picture is emerging that is of regional parties making an attempt to form a coalition government at the centre. If this attempt is successful, it will be a unique experiment in modern political systems. While one has to wait and watch the emerging trends and patterns, need for a programme-oriented front or party cannot be minimised.

What is a law if those who make it become the forwardest to break it?
- J. Beatie

The Trauma of India's Contemporary Phase

By Anwer Azam

Punjab has set us all thinking on a subject that has always been plaguing our national perspective. It plagued us over when we deluded ourselves into believing all was well with our world and life. Understandably, our disillusionment today is all the more bitter, and traumatic.

The first question that, I feel, ought to be answered at the very outset is: Is Punjab a religious issue? Or does it represent a political negation of what religion avowedly stands for? Is it not a phenomenon, dark and grotesque, that has over decades, if not over centuries, dominated our national scene and always threatened to jeopardise the essential features of our integrated national identity?

It, in fact, is an intermix of various facts and factors or recent history. What we are witnessing in and around Punjab is a direct spill over from the political Partition of India on religious basis. One major betrayal of our national liberation movement seems to have carried the seeds of further national disintegration. I would not like to speculate on what will happen to our national destiny tomorrow. I would much rather try and understand the essential meaning of what is happening today. And on this depends the orientation of our efforts to fashion our tomorrow and determine its essential quality.

Religion, monotheistic or polytheistic in its superstructural concepts, has an all-pervasive hold over our mass psyche. In the life of most of us, religion in its crudest form of degeneration, passes as a set of rituals, totems, superstitions, fatalism—all condensed in moralistic selfrighteousness. India is a land of more than a five-millennia old civilisation. In its gigantic streams, visible and invisible, flow the life-giving and life-sapping values and ideas born of history, remote and recent.

Religion, in its universal philosophical essence, as dealt with by Marx, presents profound elaboration of the point which I quote: "The basis of irreligious criticism is: Man makes religion, religion does not make man. Religion is the self-consciousness and self-esteem of man who has either not yet found himself or has already lost himself again. But man is no abstract being encamped outside the world. Man is the world of man, the state, society. This state, this society, produce religion, an inverted world-consciousness, because they are an inverted world. Religion is the general

theory of that world, its encyclopaedic compendium, its logic in a popular form, its spiritualistic point d'honneur, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn complement, its universal source of consolation and justification. It is the fantastic realisation of the human essence because the human essence has no true reality. The struggle against religion is, therefore, indirectly a fight against the world of which religion is the spiritual aroma."

This, I presume, makes the atheistic position on the subject profoundly clear. You may accept

Religion was, conversely, used to disunite our national liberation movement, and to push it into a vortex of violence and fratricide. It is that state of negative inflammability that came to be identified as communalism, a phase of our national disintegration.

or reject the thesis quoted above. But this is what convinces me of the truth of the socio-moral context of the historical rise and fall of religion in the universal advance of human civilisation.

Human civilisation has moved fast over the millennia of man's quest for the truth of his integrated existence and yet it has not advanced fast enough through the labyrinth of ignorance, prejudice, obscurantism, and dogmatic adherence to one belief or the other. That is the totality of human situation of which our contempor-

ary predicament is the manifestation of a crisis of our approach to the problems of existence, which, in other words, also means failure to cope with the challenges of rational way of thinking preconditioned by a scientific temper, as advocated by Nehru in a situation of heightened surge of India's freedom movement armed with a Gandhian vision of multilateral religious-moral reconciliation.

My generation was tempered in the fire of that ferment when religion was used to integrate the people morally and to use their fervour to rise against the tyranny of foreign domination which sought to cripple and undermine our national unity. Religion again was, conversely, used to disunite our national liberation movement, and to push it into a vortex of violence and fratricide. It is that state of negative inflammability that came to be identified as communalism, a phase of our national disintegration.

How shall we identify this retrogressive development?

In terms of hoary historical memories, religion has come to our era as a vehicle of deceptive social levelling and a tool of political and economic reconciliation with an order of denial of human dignity, equality of opportunity, in a society whose governing law is social injustice resting on moral dichotomy. Thanks the institutionalised religion, fate plays a sardonic role in curbing the will of the people to fight and overcome the forces of oppression.

Already some 150 years ago, the philosophers of revolutionary change in the existing societies structured to exploit the masses delineated in clear terms the role of religion in such societies. I quote: "Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and also the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions".

"The sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world!" This classic observation by Marx so long ago is today relevant to the understanding of our immediate situation in which religion is being used as a political decoy.

Now, reverting to the question raised at the outset, I repeat: Is the trouble in Punjab religious? Reacting to this question, I find as a layman that it is a great fallacy, grievous and dangerous. Religion, here the Sikh religion, aglow with

Continued on page 4

When They Contest Elections

By Satya Narain Mishra

In the recent panchayat elections in Uttar Pradesh in Patha region of Banda district, when the lists of candidates filing their election papers were drawn up, the big surprise that emerged was that there were quite a large number of 'kol' tribal candidates. The kols here have been kept so suppressed—economically, socially and politically—that such a scenario could not have been imagined just a decade back. Perhaps, this was the result of the first hesitant beginning to organise, to assert that several of them gathered the courage to contest the panchayat elections. Once such assertiveness of the kols became known, talk was heard among the dadus—influential people of this area—that the upstarts should be dealt with 'properly'. A threat campaign was launched to discourage them from contesting. Even some lower level officials joined this. A lekhpal was heard saying "Kols cannot handle the work of Pradhans".

A harijan named Jimidar, of Kota Kandaila village, was taken to a forest and made to agree at gunpoint that he will not contest. For several days after this there was no trace of Jimidar.

Nandakol of Chulhi village, Barahmali gram sabha, was similarly apprehended on June 22/23 night. His election papers are now getting damp in the rain in his hut. Local people said that if he had contested then he could have definitely won but he was threatened so much that he lost the courage to contest.

Markundi area is considered a big den of terror. Even today a large acreage of land of the poor is in illegal occupation of dadus. Several villages are full of bonded labourers. Some officials are known to accept the hospitality of these dadus.

Hence it was not too surprising that when Suadin Kol of Bhera village of this area decided to contest the election, one of the dadus who was used to getting elected unopposed carried him in a jeep from just near the block headquarters and left him in remote forest. By the time he returned, the time for filling the papers was over. A complaint was made to senior officials but to no avail.

Hiralal Kol of amchur Nerwa village has a very good image among the weaker sections as an educated and honest person. He filed his papers for election. A dadu got him caught and brought before him. He was not let off till he agreed to take his papers back. However, a problem with some such cases is that the victims are

too afraid even to complain openly.

Gopalji, who heads a social work organisation in this area, had written to senior officials in advance expressing apprehension of booth capturing and malpractices at several sites. But when this reporter visited such areas on election day, no special security measures could be seen.

had to pass through the questioning eyes of around 25 armed men. In fact armed men representing a contractor-cum-pradhan were present just near the polling booth. A Mavaiya (similar to Kol) candidate and his agent pleaded with this reporter to somehow get them away from here, 'away from the piercing eyes of the armed men', as they said.

A few women who had drawn a veil over their faces were seen casting votes again and again.

Yet only some time back, I was told, a magistrate had passed this way.

This reporter found several people complaining that their names were missing from the voters lists, while on the one hand there were also cases of 'some persons' name appearing in more than one list.

In Chulhi village of Barahmali gaon sabha in Manikpur block names of as many as 80 voters who had cast their vote in the 1985 elections were missing. Names of 70 voters in Ranipur gaon sabha were also missing. There are other discrepancies too. For instance some persons cast their vote at more than one polling booth. For instance, in another part of Banda district (outside Patha region), in Bigahna village of Mahua block, several people were brought from outside the village to cast their vote here.

To give another example, this time from Patha region, some families of Karka Pandariya gaon sabha have grabbed land near Cheriha, Bujurg village. Their names can be found in the voters list, of both villages.

The returning officer for Chitrakoot block while releasing the name of victorious candidates, classified them according to their caste—39 Kurmis, 22 Yadavs, 2 Chamars and so on.

In fact casteism was extremely rampant in the panchayat elections and inter-caste rivalries have intensified. The role of the dacoit gangs of this area is also being talked about, and candidates of a particular caste are facing allegations of having the blessings of the biggest dacoit of the area, Dadua.

Regardless of how true some of these specific allegations are, the fact remains that several persons having close contacts with criminals have been elected pradhans. Now it is these pradhans who have to elect the block pramukhs and so this trend will go on to upper levels, with the base containing many pradhans of criminal inclinations

The returning officer for Chitrakoot block while releasing the name of victorious candidates, classified them according to their castes. Casteism was extremely rampant in the panchayat elections and inter-caste rivalries have intensified, the role of the dacoit gangs of this area is also being talked about, and candidates of a particular caste are facing allegations of having the blessings of the biggest dacoit of the area.

Bhura Kol from Kihuniya gaon sabha was also a candidate. When he went to cast his vote he was told that somebody had already voted in his name. When he raised a hue and cry, a dadu pleaded with the officials to let him vote in another person's name. 'Hence a way out to satisfy everyone was found'.

To reach the polling look at booth at Bambiha, this reporter

Trauma of Contemporary Phase

Continued from page 3

the teachings of Guru Nanak of whose noble mission sang poet Iqbal, did never and would not today, make a geo-political secessionist demand of a separate homeland as was done by the separatist Muslim leadership to make way for the creation of Pakistan. It was then that India's secularism suffered a devastating setback. Historically, what we have seen happen to South Asia over the post-Partition decades, is the inverted chain reaction to that political compromise, of which communalised distortions became a transparent shield. Punjab, perhaps, represents the eruption of that inverted reaction, again, because of the interplay of opportunistic political motivations. Religion again is being used to justify political motivations and the resultant violence.

What is on the agenda of the external forces of destabilisation, which sponsored the division of India as part of the colonial strategy, is the scenario of re-division of the regions abandoned in the face of the post-war anti-colonial onslaught. This presumably is visualised as a possibility for seeking re-entry as interventionists. This is evident from the two-pronged supply-line of weapons maintained across the territory of Pakistan.

Religious fundamentalism, particularly in the Third world, has become a powerful instrument of reaction which blocks the way to progress and modern restructuring of the society.

Now against this background, we have to look not only at Punjab, which of course has occupied the largest area in the focus because of the terroristic violence with congregational connivance in the name of religious solidarity, but the over-all picture of the nation which is not only multi-religious but also multi-regional, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic. The mosaic is breathtakingly diverse. But one cannot

have a mosaic floor if all component shades and colours are allowed to fall apart.

The process of national integration is to prevail not only in Punjab but also in the rest of India. The religious polarisation into which the religious majority is being sucked creates a threat of assimilation which the minorities of India fear most. The aggressive assertion of numerical superiority evokes a protective response from among the religious minorities who try to seek safety in self-segregation.

Everyone knows the religious platform of Shiv Sena's political ambitions, whose leader Bal Thackeray proclaims: "Gaurav se kaho: Main Hindu hoon"! (Say with pride: I am a Hindu!) You know of Muslim claims and Hindu counter-claims over one place of worship or another. The confrontation is apparently religious. But they are in fact the rallying points aiming at support for political power.

"...Hinduism is the only religion which is based not upon a single teacher or prophet, or a single book or revelation, but upon the collective wisdom and spiritual insights of a whole galaxy of sages and seers known as the Rishis" says Dr. Karan Singh. I have not quoted this passage to controvert the scholarship that has gone into the making of the formulation for I am not competent to do so.

My contention is that it is this kind of rhetoric that stokes competitive fire and leads to denominational polarisation to be exploited by the manipulators of "political wisdom". What is needed is to hold a dialogue and not a monologue from a superior position.

(Paper Read at National Seminar on Punjab Organised by Satyawati College, Delhi University).

दादा जी खुशमुरती दा गान

मिम्बे

मिम्बे

रेम 355

From the House of

SIMCO HAIR FIXER

Partition Of Minds

By K.R. Sunder Rajan

When a communal riot breaks out, newspapers do not mention the religion of the dead and the injured. This is meant to ensure that religious feelings are not further inflamed. But this kind of self-censorship is effective only to a limited extent. Not only in Meerut - the scene of the recent communal riot but in the rest of India also almost everyone has a fairly accurate idea of who started the riot in the first place, which community suffered the most and who were the real target of the Uttar Pradesh police.

It may be a wise precaution that these sensitive details are not disclosed or discussed in the press. It may be safe merely to say that "members of one community attacked members of another community with knives and bombs, or that "members of one community set fire to the shrine of other community." However, there is a lot of make-believe about communal riots.

Though Hindus and Muslims have been killing each other at periodic intervals for as long as one can remember and the riots have increased in recent years, we are still unwilling to acknowledge that the two communities have been drifting apart. The media does not even use the phrase "Hindu-Muslim riot". It is always a "communal riot." It is as if Hindus and Muslims will stop killing each other if we refuse to acknowledge that the participants in the mutual carnage are indeed Hindus and Muslims.

According to Union Home Minister, Buta Singh, there is a concrete evidence that the riots in Meerut were pre-planned by anti-national forces. What is the evidence? Mr. Singh tells us that the very enormity of the killings makes that clear. How does this automatically follow? Does he suggest that Meerut's Hindus and Muslims are incapable of slaughtering each other on a large scale without foreign help? A man occupying such a responsible position as the head of the Home Ministry should be able to produce credible information to support his charge.

No one doubts there is a foreign hand in our internal affairs whether it is communal rioting or the trouble in Punjab or the insurgency in the north-east. Some foreign countries are sending money to fundamentalist organisations. If the killings in Meerut are basically the work of foreign sources, what was the state intelligence doing all these days?

We are told that Home Ministry has taken serious note of the fact that two of the persons rounded up in Meerut after the

riots began are Pakistani nationals. Are we to believe that just two persons can cause such mass killings by inflaming religious feelings? It is reported that in the last five years about two thousand Pakistani nationals who came to India with valid travel documents have gone underground. This would suggest that foreign agents are lurking everywhere in India, particularly in the north, planning communal riots.

By now it is amply clear that there is a Pakistani hand in India, particularly in Punjab and Kashmir. So far as these two states are concerned, we cannot, however, say that the troubles there were wholly the creation of Pakistan. This would be ridiculous. All that can be reasonably said is that the extremist movement in Punjab and secessionist and fundamentalist activities in Kashmir have been aided by the Pakistan Government. Likewise, some Pakistani nationals who have gone underground in Meerut and other towns in Uttar Pradesh may have been instigating local religious hotheads. They may also be providing them with funds.

To blame only foreign forces for the riots in Meerut does little credit to our government. Let us face the harsh truth. Hindus and Muslims, specially in the northern states, Gujarat and Maharashtra, are today as divided as at the time of partition of the sub-continent. Before partition, it was the issue of a homeland for the Muslims and the strong Hindu reaction to the demand for partitioning the country. Once Pakistan was created, Muslims who chose to remain in India gradually realised their folly in supporting the demand for Pakistan. In retrospect, it is amazing that even Muslims in distant Kerala were in the vanguard of the struggle for Pakistan though they have little in common with their religious counterparts of the north.

But though Indian Muslims have got over the nostalgia for Pakistan political hotheads among them have been trying to maintain and even widen the gulf between them and the Hindu majority. The grievances of the Muslims—real and imaginary—come in handy in this connection. Their economic backwardness is often cited. But the most serious charge is that their religion is in danger. This is really inflammable material. So powerful are these Muslim politicians in rousing Muslim suspicions that the government had to beat a hasty retreat on the question of equality of Muslim women before the law. Barring a few intellectuals among them, the fact is that today the overwhelming majority

of Indian Muslims have come to believe that there is a big conspiracy to destroy their religion.

The controversy over the Ram Temple and Babri Mosque in Ayodhya has worsened the situation. Both Hindu and Muslim

prised how the riots in Meerut could have assumed such dimensions in spite of its fifteen-point programme to combat communalism. We are reminded that the states have also been told that the promotion of district magistrates and police superintendents should be conditional on their ability to defuse communal tension. No one denies the responsibility of local officials in such situations. But are they the main culprits? What about the politicians who whip up reli-

Hindus must get over their obsession that Indian Muslims were responsible for the creation of Pakistan and that they are still disloyal to India. The Muslims presence is a fact of life in India and cannot be washed away. Moreover, if Pakistan was created, it was not the fault of the Muslims alone. The leadership of the Indian National Congress (largely Hindus) was equally responsible for the partition. Let us not forget this while blaming Muslims.

As the majority community, Hindus must make a conscious effort to make Muslims feel secure. On their part, Muslims must always remember that they are a minority. Whether religious or linguistic, a minority cannot afford to behave as if it is a majority. Minorities have their rights. They have also obligations and responsibilities.

There will not be another partition of India, our leaders repeatedly tell us. Of course, not in the geographical sense. But in 1947, there was just one India. Today there are many - in the name of religion, caste, language and culture. One sees no unity in this diversity, only danger as blood drenched bodies still float down the Ganga canal in Uttar Pradesh.

(Courtesy: Academy Journal, Lucknow)

In 1947, there was just one India.

Today, there are many - in the name of religion, caste, language and culture.

politicians have been exploiting the issue with unabated vigour. The riots in Meerut have been particularly fierce mainly on account of the surcharged emotions created by the Ayodhya controversy. Hindus feel that at last something has been in Ayodhya to avenge the wanton desecration of their shrines by Muslims rulers. Muslims are angry that their mosque has been handed over to Hindus in the name of a court order by a partisan Hindu judge.

The centre is said to be sur-

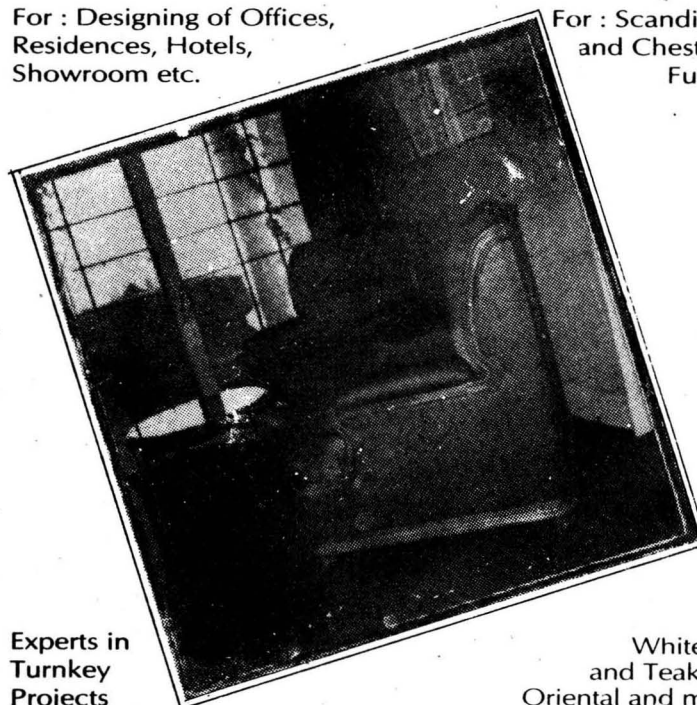
religious sentiment on various issues?

The challenge today is not how bring Hindus and Muslims closer but how to prevent them drifting further and further away from each other. Every conceivable solution for the problem of communalism has been discussed from various platforms. National Integration Committees have debated the subject for days on end. Still, things are getting steadily worse. Meerut is certainly not the final battle between Hindus and Muslims.

vibgyor

For : Designing of Offices, Residences, Hotels, Showroom etc.

For : Scandinavian and Chesterfield Furniture



Experts in Turnkey Projects

White Cedar and Teak wood Oriental and modern furniture, made custom designed. Carved furniture in antique finish. Carved doors etc are Specialities

VIBGYOR FURNISHERS (P) LTD.

(A Dr. Bhagat Singh Rekhi Enterprises)

136 Begam Pur, Near Malviya Nagar, New Delhi-110017 • Ph: 6444814, 6415263

Ref.: A.S. Rekhi

Banning Cannot Stop Our Struggle



Women in South Africa are involved in every aspect of the struggle for freedom; this is well known. Here is an interview with a South African woman activist.

Can you specify exactly what women are doing inside the country, and how they are organising?

Do you want me to specify a certain group of women or include all the women in South Africa?

All the women in South Africa; a general picture of all the women in the country.

The role of the women and how they are? I think the women in the country are very much aware of the situation in the country. The different groups of our women, besides the progressive ones, are involved in discussions on the situation. For instance, we have a group of women under the Home and Family Life desk of the South African Council of Churches. The SACC includes all the church women, and it would be a very nice thing if our women were involved in this group, so that they can know what other women are thinking of the situation. It's not only our women alone who are worried about the situation; all the mothers in the country are worried about what is happening.

I happen to be one of the executive members of Home and Family Life. I have been with this group for quite a long

time in my church. I discovered that in fact - it was a thing I didn't know - that church women, together with ordinary women, are very much worried about the situation. Some discussions are very important.

For instance, for the past two years, we have been worried about the family crises, what is happening to the families, what is happening to the children, the displaced children and the children who are roaming around. What are we to do, how are we to help the mothers to be meaningful mothers to these children? They are seen roaming from one place to another; some of them are from Transkei, some of them from elsewhere in the Cape. They trek to Johannesburg in groups, looking for accommodation with other school children and other comrades.

And that gives the women very much worry; though the children are in Johannesburg, their mothers are in different places. Sometimes we get children from the Free State just roaming around. They have done something at school and they feel they must run away, and that they must come to Johannesburg. These children - we call them displaced children.

At a conference, we discussed the problems of such children. We had problems with the children when they started not going to school, and they were holding meetings and going to funerals, and their mothers were refusing to let their children attend these meetings, especially those mothers from the rural areas. We will never forget the day when we called a meeting to advise them as to what they must do when their children

behave like that.

One of the most important things we discussed that day was that it does not matter what your child does - it still forms a part of the family, and therefore, mother, father and the child must be together. There is a need for the parents and children to understand one another. That day it was as if there was a light thrown into the minds of those women, because they did not know how to behave when their children decide, and take actions on their own.

So, from that day onwards, the parents said, "We are very grateful that we have been able to come here and listen to some of the good advice we have been given as to what we must do as parents. From today we are going to be with our children, because they are our children." Those were just ordinary women, not belonging to the struggle, and those are the women we women belonging to the struggle must help all the time, meet with them and help them.

Then we had another conference dealing with homelessness. People are displaced, are removed from one place to another and that affects the family. What do we do in that case, what do we do in conditions like that? I went to one of the seminars, composed of people around Durban, just ordinary people who had come to listen to the problem. Some films were shown of different kinds of homeless people. Some are lying in the streets, some of them live in tents, some women in hostels, and we decided to look at this thing and take it up.

In Johannesburg we speak about the rent boycott. The rent boycott is a very serious thing.

We have not paid rent for about 18 months now. There have been evictions in areas like Jabavu, where so many people live. Quite a number of people have died through eviction.

At this very conference of the Home and Family Life we also discussed the situation in Jabavu and we, the parents, wanted to know what we must do. How must we deal with our children, and what is it that they really want?

We said to the parents that the children are affected by the high rent. The children are unable to go to school some distance away because the family are paying very high rents and the children are starving. Children have no clothes and that is why they say to the parents, "Do not pay rent because the rents are very high and they are affecting us as children." and those are the things that as parents we felt they should listen to.

Many people have died. When eviction takes place it is not only a person being evicted, he is being evicted with his belongings, and he does not get his belongings back again. That goes on, and it came to a point where some of the people did not know what to do about paying rent because we were threatened every day by the councillors. Not all of them, but most of the people are not paying rents up till now.

Lights were switched off. We had the problem of our lights being cut off. Our children - I don't know where our children got the knowledge from - they connected the lights. In fact we should have no lights according to the council, but we got lights because of our children connecting the lights, unknown to them.

That is the position about the rent boycott. We are at a time now when we are looking at what we can pay, and even there we have got to know how much we must pay for those essential things like water, electricity and so on. That is a very serious thing, that actually made people stop paying rent, because we pay a lot of money for electricity. So we are beginning to see where we can start and what we can pay for and we are not just going to accept anything they tell us. We are going to investigate and find out what is the correct amount to pay for water, sewerage and other things. So that is the position.

So the Federation of Transvaal Women is becoming a nation-wide organisation. Is it going beyond the Transvaal region?

It definitely does. I am happy to say that FEDTRAW is now very well-organised. It has been launched in the Transvaal and in different areas. We are now waiting to launch the Federation of South African Women. We are busy on that. We have

organised women in the rural areas, in towns and all over. We are conscientising the women. We are making them aware of the situation especially those women who are involved in the struggle.

How we manage to get some of these women to join FEDTRAW is that we feature at funerals of our comrades and we work there and peel vegetables, bake and stay there with those people until they wonder where these women come from and we tell them that we are the comrades of these people and that is how we are managing to get women from Soweto who did not know anything about us. We are drawing them from attending the comrades' funerals, and doing whatever we can do to help the family of that deceased. We also visit our people who are in courts. We go up and down to different areas and some of our women go as far as Messina and spend days there with the families of the people in court.

I happen to be one of the women who have been visiting Robben Island for the last 23 years. I more or less know what has been taking place there and the changes that have been affected us all. People in Robben Island now - I would say they are all right. Their health is all right, except for those people who visits doctors because of certain ailments but they are well looked after according to what we hear. Serious things have happened to them - so serious that we were also very affected by them - but fortunately those people have recovered from those diseases. But not Gwala.

We understand Robben Island has the best treatment.

Robben Island is a place where our young comrades are, I would say, educated. It is more or less a college, because when one comes out from there he is a different person. It is a lot of work for the senior comrades there, to teach these children, to correct them when they make mistakes and to lead them in the right direction. It does take time, because some children are young (1976 prisoners), which means a man is dealing with a young boy of 23-30 years. But it is pleasing to know that they come out just the right man you want to see.

There are problems, there are quite a number of them, family problems, because these are young people. They have left their wives, sometimes their girl friends, and sometimes their ailing parents, and again the responsibility is for senior people in Robben Island to try and comfort, counsel, these young people. They also get messages from outside and, when these problems come to them from their homes, it means the elderly people must sit down with the particular pri-

Continued on page 7

A Community In Dilemma

Banning Cannot Stop Struggle

Continued from page 6

Lt. Col. Manohar Singh (Retd)

Since the day of Operation Bluestar and the dastardly assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the massacre of Delhi Sikhs and also of the Sikhs residing in other towns out-side Punjab in November 1984, Sikhs have been in deep crisis. This has brought changes in their behaviour and thinking, giving impression of glowless character. The community has been confronted with new kinds of laws, which have the character of endangering the very base of the Sikhism - the way of Sikh life based on Miri and Piri (Temporal and Spiritual).

The Sikh community has been in great dilemma, especially in Punjab. How can they get out of the mess and have the fundamental rights restored without further suffering? It seems that in the near future there is no hope for it. The Sikhs of Punjab, after having been in a boiling pot for so long, would see the stark danger to the future of the community. They would get over their internal differences and forge unity to restore the image of the community through India. But this hope has been shattered.

In the light of prevailing situation in Punjab, the Sikhs outside Punjab fixed their hopes on the Sikhs of Delhi who are large in number constitute intellectuals, businessmen and politicians with influence in social, cultural, religious and political circles. But the disgraceful conduct of DSGMC, the supreme representative body of Delhi Sikhs in the episode of struggle for power in Sis Ganj in July and at Gurdwara Bangla Sahib in August belied these hopes.

The episode which took place in Gurdwara Bangla Sahib on August 6, 1988, on the birthday of Shri Guru Harkrishanji has many things to reveal. About 30 to 40 Congress (I) supported Sikhs and non-Sikhs brandishing naked kirpans and some with their foot-wears on entered the 'Pandal', where the 'Diwan' was in progress in the presence of Sri Guru Granth Sahib. They did not pay obeisance to Holy Granth Sahib. The whole "Sangat" (Sikh congregation) got dazed and bewildered, and became infuriated. The sangat in enraged mood pounced upon the kirpan holding men. Some people who grappled with them received sword cuts and bruises. The general consensus was that Mr. Talwinder Singh Marwah and his men not entered in the Pandal in this way, there would have been no commotion.

It is clear that had the Sikhs of Delhi realised their duty in safeguarding the image of their community, the members of DSGMC would never have behaved in the manner un-becoming of a Gur-Sikh. The hooliganism created at

Gurdwara Sis Ganj and at Gurdwara Bangla Sahib in the tussle for power, not caring for the sanctity of these shrines speaks for itself the poor sense of character of the members of the DSGMC. Since DSGMC operates under Gurd-

use of muscular power in the management of DSGMC. The need is to profusely condemn this unethical practice in religious affairs. All this would require building up of a strong character and will power in the community.

The Sikh community has been in great dilemma, especially in Punjab. How can they get out of the mess and have the fundamental rights restored without further suffering? It seems that in the near future there is no hope for it. The Sikhs of Punjab, after having been in a boiling pot for so long, would see the stark danger to the future of the community.

wara Act, the government, too, had to share the blame for this ugly scene. It is alleged that the whole exercise was carried out with the connivance of police.

The question, now before the community is, what strategy the Sikh masses of Delhi should adopt to save the DSGMC from unscrupulous persons in mis-handling the Sikh affairs, and jeopardising the future of the community. Some remedies to the problem are being suggested here in for consideration.

The question, now before the community is, what strategy the Sikh masses of Delhi should adopt to save the DSGMC from unscrupulous persons in mis-handling the Sikh affairs, and jeopardising the future of the community.

The Singh Sabhas should honestly dedicate themselves to the panthic cause. They should only support men of experience, administrative ability with integrity and strong character. The previous history of DSGMC described in detail logically by Mr. A.S. Narang in the "The Forum Gazette" (5 to 19 August 1988) shows, that there has been always great tussle between the Akalis and the Congress (I) in dominating DSGMC. This has been the cause of poor performance and damage in its image all these years. As a result the DSGMC has failed to provide any guide to the community to protect its rights and status, and unitedly to face their problems. It has raised no voice nor mobilised public opinion against the bills which provide endless powers to the police to harass those who would be in the management of any Gurdwara. The threats to preach Sikh way of life in Gurdwaras have become more prominent, since the entry of Congress (I) in DSGMC. Because the Congress (I) members will have to take dictates from Congress (I) high command. The other point is who to be blamed for the desecration of Gurdwaras and tarnishing the image of Delhi Sikhs. It is the Sikhs themselves to blame, who have brought in the

soner and settle the problems with them.

We, the mothers who visit Robben Island, also have the responsibility of visiting the families of these young people whenever there is a message that calls for the parents to come, and the need for these young men to be visited. Some of them don't have regular visits; even there it is our duty to go to that family and counsel that family.

FEDTRAW - the group around the Transvaal - sits down and looks at the families that are very needy, and every week they collect groceries and go and deliver to those families by way of supporting and comforting them.

And these groceries come from donations?

Yes, they come from donations. Each woman will bring tea, sugar, whatever she can bring, and all these are quite a lot. The women have been visiting the Sharpeville Six several times taking their prayers, taking their dinners, collecting cooked food and fruit, having it with them to console them. Besides FEDTRAW, other women from the South African Council of Churches have also been involved with the Six. They arrange a prayer for those people. Which means it is not only FEDTRAW people are concerned about the Six, but all women are concerned.

Of course, besides the Sharpeville Six, there are more than 40 people sentenced to death.

The Federation of Transvaal Women are very much concerned. They wrote a letter to Mrs. Botha and the other woman, Mrs. Malan, asking them and telling them that, as mothers, they should have sympathy, as we have sympathy with our children, and they must remember these are children, and all children are the same. A child is so connected to the mother that you just cannot cut the bond that brings the mother and child together.

It was at a press conference, so I remember we did send the letters but never got a reply.

On a slightly different note, there have been problems in Natal, Pietermaritzburg. Can you tell us something about Inkatha and Gatsha Buthelezi? What are the problems?

There are problems between Inkatha and the UDF. That has been going on for quite a long time. If you remember, it started long ago. It has been coming up and growing. There have been fights at KwaMashu in Inanda, fights at Umlazi, fights at Lamontville. So this kind of war has been going on until it spread to Hammarsdale, and now it has gone to Pietermaritzburg.

There is now a very serious situation. Our people there are fighting the vigilantes. The vigilantes are Gatsha Buthelezi's police, who are well-armed and given weapons by Inkatha from the government. But our people say, "We are not fighting Inka-

Continued on page 14

With Best Compliments
From

Satkar Financial Corporation

2651 Kucha Chelan
Darya Ganj, New Delhi-110002
Tele. Nos. 275595, 267628

BAD, BLACK, BACK

By Baiju

Calling a spade a spade, the attitude of the Indian press is invincible and imperative. After a brief trial in Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Bihar the whirling dervish had struck the nation as a whole, threatening the pillars of freedom and democracy. The Defamation Bill, 1988, ransacking to hold back the press from its recent bout of investigative thrust, is a grave violation of the freedom of speech and expression and is totally unconstitutional. The people of India are no longer ready to accept such law formulations.

relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence. But none of these restrictions hold back citizens from fighting against corruption at high places, power brokers and fortify grafts.

Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr P. Chidambaram declared in the Lok Sabha that he had only put together all the scattered provisions which deal with defamation in one single legislation. Along with these he gathered some of the recommendations from the 42nd Law Commission Report (1971), from the Second



The Press Commission, both the first and second, had made effective and constructive recommendations on restructuring and stabilizing the print media. But, unfortunately, the government has found only a few of these recommendations, that too out of context which would only contain the media's freedom, ignoring all the other forward looking suggestions. Egoism and momentary interests have articulated the Bill.

Constitutional Freedom

Article 19 (1) of the Constitution confers upon the citizens of India the freedom of speech and expression. Clause (2) of the same article imposes certain restrictions on this right in the interest of the security of the state, friendly relations with foreign powers, decency or morality, or in

Press Commission Report (1982) and from the Janata government's Bill (1978) which had lapsed after the dissolution of the Lok Sabha in 1979.

Penal Actions

As stated by Mr Chidambaram, Clause 3 of the Defamation Bill is identical to Section 499 of the IPC, Clause 5 is identical to Section 500 and Clause 6 to Section 502. It should be remembered that Sections 499, 500, 501 and 502 of the IPC have already more-than-enough press-killing procedures in them. If this is the condition why the urgency has arisen now. Does he want to replace the IPC?

Defaming The Nation.

However, Clause 13 of the Defamation Bill is the most pulverizing of all the others:

KWARD-LOOKING

NDU The Congress...
...the intensification...
ION of U
ATIONS
Drop The Bill
Why Withdraw the Bill!
defame our
Telegraph
Nationwide strike
newsmen today
EXPRESS
THE HINDUSTAN TIMES
WITHDRAW THE BILL
Scrap this
black bill
Post
why?
A backward looking
Bill
OF INDIA
damned

...The Defamation Bill, 1988...
...has done or omitted...
...which amounts to an offence, under...
...any law for the time being in force, shall, in the case of the first offence...

"Whoever, by word, either spoken or intended to be read or...make or publish any imputation falsely alleging any person has committed an offence, under any law for the time being in force, shall, in the case of first offence, be punishable with imprisonment for a term which all not be less than one month, but which may extend to one year, and with fine....and in the case of a second or subsequent offence, with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than three months, but which may extend to two years, and with fine...." Mr Chidambaram says this clause does not deal with press at all! It deals with persons who

12 of the Bill says: "For the removal of doubts, it hereby declares that where a person accused of any offence under this chapter claims that the imputation made or published by him or that the statement published by him is expected under Section 4 or as the case may be, under Section 11, the onus of proving such claim shall be on him and the prosecution shall have the right to lead evidence in rebuttal."

Cumbersome
The editor will be subjected to harassment and inconvenience if he has to be present in a court far away from where his journal is published. There is no



make defamatory statements. This is only partly true. If the press does not play up false imputations, those in authority need not get nervous. What Mr Chidambaram understands is that the press and the people are two and different entities. Making such foolish statements is equal to defaming the whole country itself.

The government must understand that the period of such idiosyncrasy is a past truth, at least as far as the press is concerned.

The basis of our criminal jurisprudence is on the assumption of the innocence of the accused and the onus of proof that one is guilty is on the prosecution. But in the new legislation the approach has been reversed. The obligation of proof has been shifted to the accused.

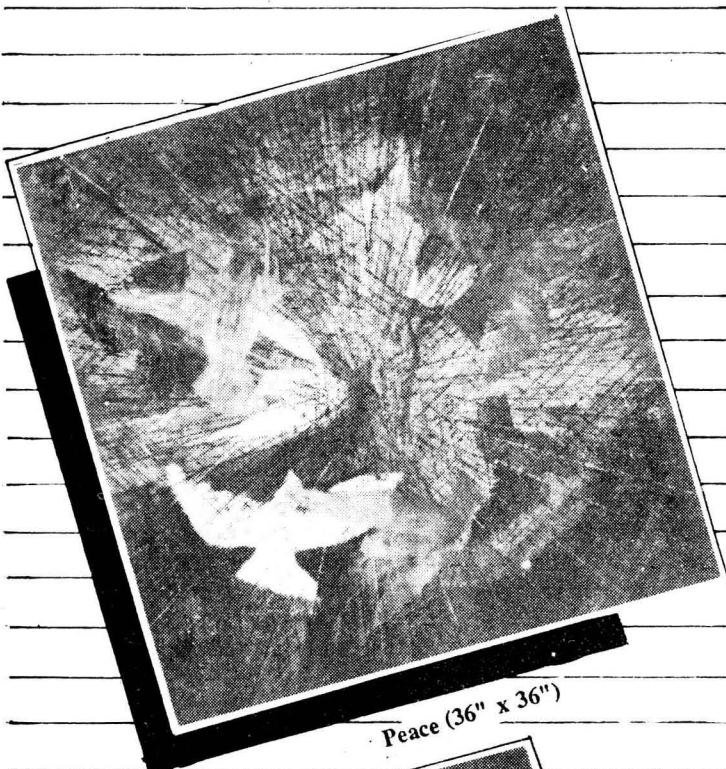
justification of the provisions in the Bill which declares that "provided that where the accused, being the editor, publisher or printer of a newspaper or periodical is prosecuted for an offence under the Defamation Act, 1988, the court shall not dispense with his personal attendance, if it is proved that he has refused within a reasonable time, to publish any reply of the person against whom any imputation was made, in the same manner and with the same prominence as the imputation was published in that newspaper or periodical". Now the courts cannot decide whether the editor should appear personally in courts or not.

If the Bill becomes an Act, it will be an assault on the foundations of democracy and responsible

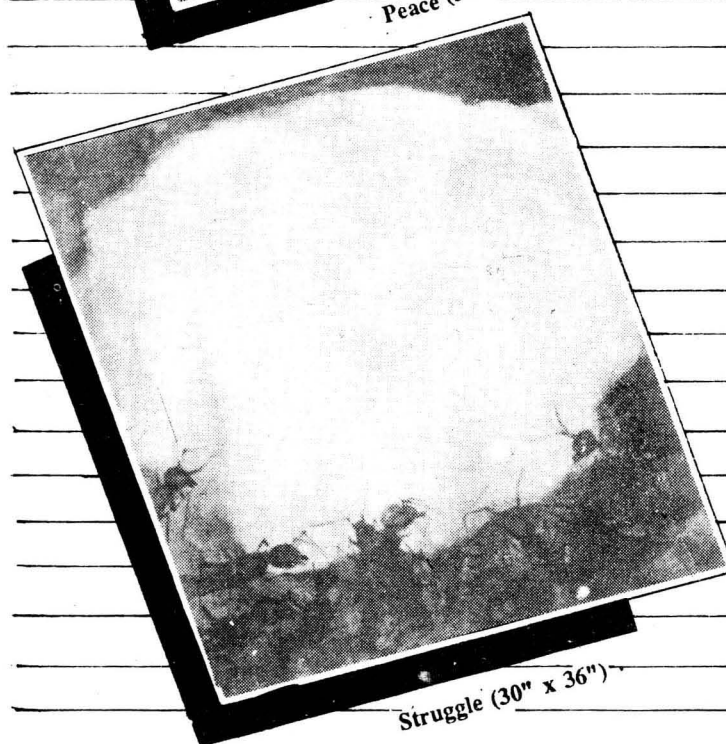
The illiberal and crudest section

Continued on page 14

Painting For A Cause



Peace (36" x 36")



Struggle (30" x 36")

From August 19 to 21, 1988, when some 150 delegates from different countries were discussing the issues facing Non-Aligned Movement Particularly with reference to its role and dynamics in realising the vision of a world without war and free from social discriminations at Parliament House Annexe, New Delhi, the hall was decorated by some 15 paintings dedicated to Nelson Mandela on the occasion of his seventieth birthday (July 18, 1988) anniversary.

The paintings depicting agony, force, struggle, rays of hope, and peace were the work of a 25 year old artist, Surinder Sambyal. A diploma holder in Graphic Art from College of Arts and Crafts, Chandigarh, has been participating in many exhibitions from his early college days. He organised his first one-man show in 1974 at Chandigarh Museum.

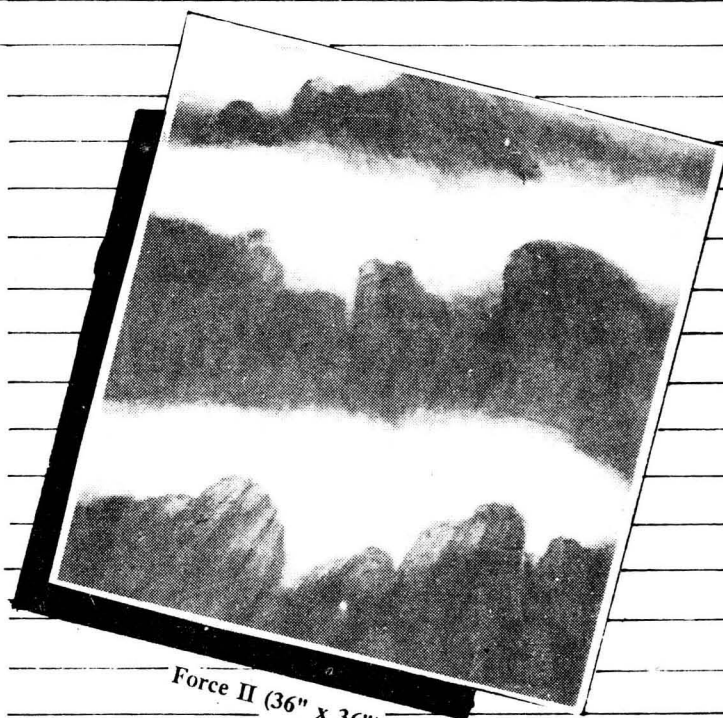
"Tribute to Nelson Mandela" exhibition has also been organised earlier at India International Centre and United Nations Information Centre in New Delhi.

According to Surinder Sambyal, on hearing a rather grim and detailed account of the pernicious and unjust system of apartheid, the sacrifice made by millions of South Africans and the great contribution made by that indomitable human spirit, Nelson Mandela, the artist in him was moved to translate his thoughts and feelings into something more tangible.

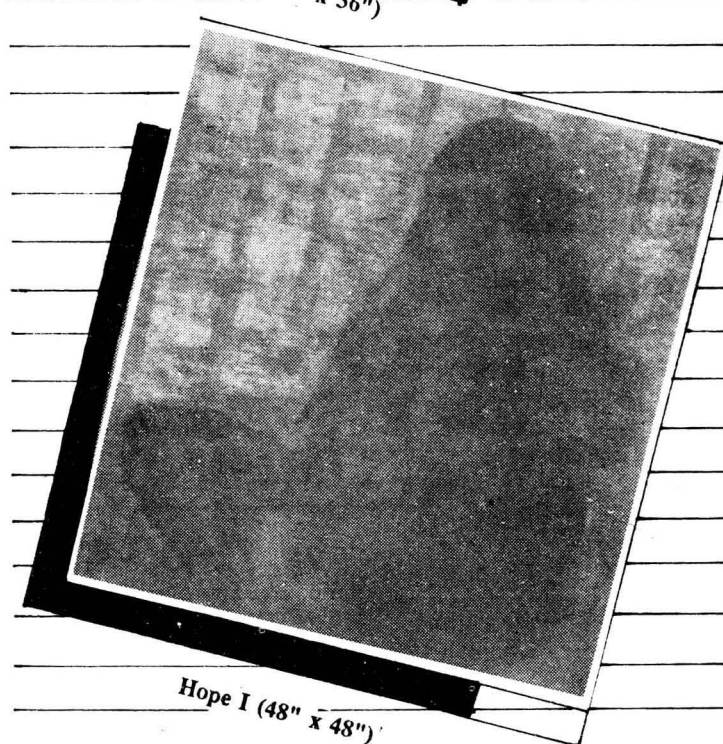
The colour schemes, the depth and themes bring out artist's concrete expression of concern support and solidarity with the cause of suffering South African people. Surinder Sambyal had no detailed knowledge of apartheid. He came to know of the prevailing conditions only a few months ago. His quick response to the plight of the oppressed South Africans in a manner which cannot but help accelerating the process for the eradication of the racist scourge, is indeed most heartening.

There is no doubt that the paintings will, in no small measure, help in spreading the message of freedom to many, many more people in India and elsewhere.

A.S. Narang.



Force II (36" x 36")



Hope I (48" x 48")



Surinder Sambyal



Gurbani On Nature Of Evil

By Ishar Singh

Forces which are considered as evil are categorised differently but they can squeeze in the five main categories (1) Kam (lust), (2) Krodh (anger), (3) Lob (covetousness), (4) Moh (attachment) and (5) Ahankar (pride). God is not the source of evil and possesses attributes which are all excellent. He is goodness complete and perfect. His actions are all perfect and excellent.

From where the evil forces originate if God is not their source? How do they come into existence? The answer is that what are considered as evil forces are not evil by themselves. They are natural instincts produced in man, through the organs given to him by God. For instance 'Kam' (lust) as a natural instinct is not evil so long it is confined within limits of any accepted law of morality. Without this instinct, the progeny of human race would have come to an end. Similarly other natural instincts of man are intended to serve essential and useful purposes. They are not evil so long as their use is confined to such purposes within the law of morality. But these natural instincts become evil when they are acted upon by 'Haumain' of man. 'Haumain' in its bad sense, stimulates his natural instincts to desire more of everything and by means which may not be consistent with the law of morality:

The minimum needs which man feels essential to satisfy his natural instincts are mentioned by way of illustrations only, in Guru Granth Sahib through hymns of some Bhagats.

Gopal tera aarta, jo jan tumri bhagat krante tin ke kaaj swaarta; (Rahao) Daal seedha maango gheeo; Han ra khusee karai nit jeeo; Pania chhaadan neeka; Anaaj mango sat seeka; Gao bhains mango laaveri; Ik taajan turi changeri; Ghar ki geehan changi; Jan Dhanna levai mangi. (Dhanasri-Dhanna, Guru Granth Sahib, p.695).

"O' Lord I perform thy worship; And whoever worships thee; Thou lookest after his needs; Give me bread, butter and pulse; And my mind will ever be happy; Give me also neat clothes and shoes; The corn for me should be fine; I ask cow or buffalo for milk; And a good mare to ride upon; The wife in my house should be noble; This, thy servant Dhanna, asks from thee."

The sense of 'Haumain' gives man the urge to require not the minimum essential but much more. In the process of craving more of everything, he takes to

falsehood, snatching by unfair means and committing all types of evil. Bhagat Dhanna had reached the high spiritual stage where 'Haumain' was no more and realisation of God's Will had dawned on him. He could understand easily the ethical bounds within which he had to remain and asked his Lord frankly and with a child's affection what he felt his minimum needs in the circumstances of his time. But how can man at lower stages know what is God's Will in this respect?

Kiv sachiaara hoiai, kiv kuraio tutai paal; Hukam razaai chalna Nanak likhya naal. (Jajji M.I.)

"How to attain truth and break the veil of falsehood? Says Nanak act according to God's Will which is written within thyself".

The God's Will is written with everyone. When man performs an evil act an inner voice tells him that he is doing evil. This inner voice is of his pure conscience, of God Himself. Man hears this voice and sometimes acts accordingly. But often he performs evil act in spite of that voice which he ignores. Kaor man jaanai sab baat jaanat hi augan karai; Kaahe ki kuslaat haath deep kue parai. (Slok Kabir, Guru Granth Sahib, p.1376). "Says Kabir mind of man knows full well; And yet performs evil act; How funny it is that while holding; A lamp he falls in the well". (Kabir)

Besides spirituality and philosophy the fundamental laws of morality lie embedded in the hymns of Guru Granth Sahib. The ethical limits within which man should keep confined the operations of the instincts and powers given to him by God's nature are thus found specified to enable him to keep away from evil actions. But when man ignores the voice within and cares not the Guru's word those very instincts take the form of evil acts. The store of man's evil deeds swells up as he continues to act in this manner in his present life and is carried over to subsequent lives if it is not neutralised and wiped off by turning towards God and caring for His Will.

The law of Karma is having its own inevitable course. Accumulations of sins of previous lives are similarly carried over to the present life. Man comes into contact here with others some of whom prove good to him and some become cause of trouble and source of evil to him. Mutual accounts of previous lives are settled here and fresh accounts are opened. Many a time we observe strange happenings. Dacoits stand on the road side with guns

to attack and loot an incoming bus. Before that bus started from previous place somebody just missed it. Somebody who had boarded it leaves it for some unavoidable reasons making room for another to get in. When the news of attack by dacoits comes, it is then realized how miraculously somebody escaped and how inevitably destiny pushed another inside to meet his fate. The intricacies of the working of the Law of Karma are known only to God. He makes all arrangements and creates circumstances for all such happenings. It does not lie in the hands of man either to know or to avoid such events. In these circumstances when man has to suffer at the hands of another in settlement of previous accounts his will does not work as 'free will' but gets subordinated to the force of God's law of Karma. Thus an evil act of loot and murder has taken place and it is attributed to God's law. In many hymns of Guru Granth Sahib, as indicated earlier, God is declared as everything and man as nothing.

Kichh haath kisai dai kichh nahin sab chaleh chalaae. (Asa M. IV Chhant). "Nothing lies within man's own hands; The Lord Himself directs his steps". Ikna bhaane kadh lae ikna maaya vich nivaas, Aiv bhi aakh na jaapai je kisai aanrai raas. (Asa di Var M.I.) By His Will the Lord saves some and pushes others in the whirlpool of His creation; but none can say whom He wills to save".

The truth of such hymns is abundantly evident when we keep in view the happenings taking place, as indicated above, under the force of law of Karma. But it is also abundantly clear that even though God arranges the working of this law, man himself has invited, on account of his own previous deeds, the act which appears evil. On man therefore, rests the original responsibility for evil, not on God. God is only dispensing justice without fear and favour. Always and in all circumstances man is free to choose between good and evil as his own Karma and this fundamental truth remains undisturbed. Way is always open even to man who has carried sins from his previous births to wipe off or mitigate the effects of those sins by acquiring adequate merits here in this life. The merit comes by absorbing in God's Name with pure and sincere heart.

Karni kaagad mann maswaani bura bhalla doe lekh pae; Join jion kirt chalaae tion chaliai tau gun nahi ant hare;

Chit chetas kee nahi baawaria, Har bisrat tere gun galia. (Maru M.I.)

"Action of man are paper, his mind the ink; His merits and demerits get recorded; He walks through the world as his past deeds lead him here; But he knows not O' Lord the working of thy nature; Why not then, ye unwise man, turn thy mind to God; Why are thus wasting merits by forgetting the Lord."

God's law of karma and law of His mercy are running side by side and are perfectly true in their own respective spheres.

Where the Guru says:

Manda changa aapna aape hi keeta paavna. (Asa di Var M.I.)

"Man himself is to reap the consequences of his own evil and good deeds."

He says side by side:

Kirt karam ke veechhare kar kirpa melo Ram. (Bara Mah. Majh M.V.)

"O' Lord man has drifted away from thee;

On account of his own deeds; Show thy mercy and gather him up unto thyself."

Miteh kamaanre paap chiraanre; Saadh sangat mil moa jeejai. (Dhanasri M.V.)

"The sins accumulated from long past get washed away (by turning to God);

When man joins the saintly order of God's worshippers;

His dead mind gets a new life.

The idea of original sin of man and the theory that some intermediary, a son of God or a Prophet of God takes upon himself man's sins are not accepted in Guru Nanak's philosophy. Here man himself is responsible for his own deeds and he himself has to acquire adequate merits to wash away the past sins. Neither is accepted any other authority more or less parallel to God like Angra Mainyu, Devil, Satan, or Iblis as source of evil. Here man's 'Haumain' gives a bad shape to natural instincts of man and evil crops up in various forms.

The
FORUM
 Gazette

A
NATIONAL
FORTNIGHTLY
FOCUSSING
ON

- ◻ Minority Rights
- ◻ Civil Liberties
- ◻ Equality For Women
- ◻ Democratic Values
- ◻ Environmental Protection

PLUS
 Cinema ◻ Sport ◻ Books
 People ◻ Short Stories

SUBSCRIPTION
RATES

Life Donor Subscription
 Rs. 1000.00
 Five Year Subscription
 Rs. 200.00
 One Year Subscription
 Rs. 50.00

3 Mansarovar Road, Jang Puri
 NEW DELHI 110 014

The importance of afforestation in the Himalayan region is stressed time and again at various fora. Both the forest department and some voluntary organisations have been making claims of considerable success in this field. Lots of funds from the government and aid organisations are readily available for this.

There cannot be two opinions about the importance of afforestation—special in an ecologically crucial but at present heavily degraded region like the Himalayan region. But we have to be careful about what type of afforestation is being advocated where it is taking place, who is involved in it, what type of trees are to be planted where, their suitability to climatic conditions, human needs and other factors have to be kept in mind.

Forest Vs Shrubbery

Here we would like to give examples of the type of afforestation being promoted in Henvallghati region of Tehri Garhwal district in recent times. During the last year (a drought year) the forest department was active in roadside plantation on the Ranichauri-Gaza route, but unfortunately in the process a lot of ecological damage was also caused. For a stretch of five to six kilometres surai trees were planted which are of no use as fodder. Then to protect (?) these trees from cattle (?) a barbed wire fencing was raised. Further, green plants of Barberis, (a medicinal plant and a threatened species) and golden raspberry (a delicious, nutritious fruit locally called Hinsalu) were cut down and hanged on the barbed wire fencing. When these plants dried up more of these plants were cut and hung in a similar fashion.

Barberis and Hinsalu shrubs were cut from Jhari Ki Sain area. Before the tree plantation effort, this area was full of these bushes but now it looks badly denuded. As this area has been without tree-cover for quite some time, the dense growth of these shrubs was playing a significant role in checking soil-erosion. Now soil-erosion will be accelerated here.

Sheer Madness

After seeing this madness, people have started saying with scepticism that when tree plantation work is further extended, the shrub growth will probably vanish completely. Moreover, during this destruction the water spring called Fakuva, considered very important and useful in this area, is also now threatened.

While discussing the endangered species of the Himalayan region, Barberis is mentioned most prominently. It is one of the most useful medicinal plants (local name kilmora). Due to its endangered position, there is a ban on its exploitation. But the department which is supposed to enforce this ban has itself been flouting it on a large scale.

The nutritious and delicious fruit of Hinsalu plays an important role in reducing the malnutrition of local villagers. Children going to school and women going on tough treks to fetch fuel and fodder make their walk enjoyable by picking up Hinsalu fruit. Barberis shrub also provides nutritious fruit. Both these shrubs provide fruits to local villagers at a time when other fruits are not available.

A researcher, Bhavna Goyal, who analysed the nutrition content of these fruits, found that kilmora is very rich in Vitamin C while Hinsalu's tiny fruits are very rich in Vitamin C and B complex. Such shrub growth which spreads densely just near the land-level plays a very important role in soil and water conservation. Accelerated soil-erosion follows the destruction of these shrubs.

The ideal forest in the hills should be a three layer one big trees at the top, shrubs in the middle and grasses down below. A forest comprising all these vegetation constituents can best protect the hills. But the forest department (and even some experts) are concerned mainly with only one of these layers—trees. This effort is similar to building a house without a foundation.

Wrong Selection Of Trees

Still if indigenous broad leaf species had been emphasized in plantation efforts, then also grasses and shrubs would have grown near them. But modern forestry has put its main emphasis on plantation of trees of commercial importance like Eucalyptus, poplars, silver oak, pine and surai. In the nursery at Ranichauri forest post over 90 per cent of the plants and in the Jhari Ki Sain nursery almost all the plants are pines. In the Ranichauri nursery, the plants other than pines are pilars.

Lower level forest officials inform that they have orders from the top to grow mainly the chir. It is a well-known fact that chir cover can turn the land acidic, dry up the water sources and the fire risk in forests increases. Dominance of chir for several years can make forest land unsuitable for other plant growth. Chir forest is known to have adverse effect on nearly agricultural field - due to loss of moisture and also due to the soil turning acidic.

To take another example of afforestation from Hevalghati region, silver oak tree have been planted on the roadside from Nagni to Chaupanyal. From Chamba to Badshahi Thaul eucalyptus and poplars have been planted. It is well-known how indiscriminate road construction has ruined sev-

eral hill slopes. To minimise this, it is important that the slopes over and below the roadside (where the rubble is thrown) are covered with trees, shrubs and grasses.

planted near Sanvli village. It costs nearly Rs. 1000 per plant. It is interesting to know that some of these plants were stolen. And now a guard post has been set up on

them. And a lot of money is being wasted.

In Henvallghati region, on the eastern slope from Bamund to Palas and on the western slope from Khari to Nagni, there is a forest of countless species of vegetation (tress, shrubs, creepers, grasses). This has retained its natural character to a large extent. On the other hand the loital oak forest is fast being converted into deodar and poplar forest. The natural forests play a very important role in sustaining village life in Henvallghati region.

Instead of wasting money and effort mainly on exotic commercial trees, it would be much more fruitful to protect natural forests and emphasise all types of indigenous vegetations—trees, shrubs and grasses—in afforestation efforts undertaken with the involvement of the local people.

Trees are being planted on wastelands at places where they are not really needed. Where natural forests have survived, poplars are being thrust in the middle of them. And a lot of money is being wasted.

emphasising the indigenous species. Instead of following this pattern, trees of little worth are planted on the roadside plain area, and this is taken to mean that the stabilization work has been completed. This is blind imitation of the plains.

Chamba-Savli road which guards the olive plants. Senior officers visited the area often to see these plants. Despite all this, it is reliably learnt that a large number of these plants have perished. The entire effort of the government machinery seems to promote exotic plants.

Trees are being planted on wastelands at places where they are not really needed. Where natural forests have survived, poplars are being thrust in the middle of

Wastage Of Funds

Last year some olive plants were brought from Italy. Out of these, nearly 100 plants were

POWER SAVED IS POWER PRODUCED

- Use tube lights. They give more light with less power.
- Use ISI marked electrical appliances and fixtures
- Keep your tubes and lamps dust free
- Close your refrigerator door soon after use.
- Switch off all appliances when not required
- Switch off lights, fans, and air-conditioners when you leave the room.

Issued by : **THE DEPARTMENT OF POWER**
Ministry of Energy, Government of India
New Delhi-110001.

davp 88/204

Concept of "Miri" and "Piri"

By G.S. Chadha

"Miri" and "Piri" symbolize the Temporal and Spiritual

powers of an authority. In the Sikh history these two words are associated with the ceremony of succession to guruship pertaining to Guru Hargobind (sixth Guru of the Sikhs). As most of the historians have written that the fifth Guru (Arjan Dev) during his captivity concentrated on God and sought divine light and guidance to save the nascent religion from annihilation. It is said that the only solution revealed to him was to guard it with the aid of arms. Thus, he sent to his eleven year-old son and successor, Hargobind a 'bel' fruit (Wood apple or aegle marmelos) with five copper piceas as a token of his nomination with his last injunction through a Sikh "Let him sit fully armed on his throne and maintain an army to the best of his ability" (Macauliffe-III-99). On receiving fifth Guru's last message and on his death Baba Buddha performed the ceremony of succession. He applied 'tilak' on his (Hargobind's) forehead. Then the Guru asked Bhai Buddha to adore him with a sword. (Remember, upto now no Guru had ever worn a sword or any such weapon). Babaji put the sword on the right side of Guru's body, who pointed out the mistake. But when Babaji wanted to put it on the other side, the Guru forbade him to do so. He, rather, asked him to fasten another sword on the left side. The Guru declared that the two swords signified Miri and Piri, (Shakti and

Shakti), deg and teg. One symbolized temporal of power and the other spiritual power; one to smite the oppressor and the other to protect the innocent. He then told his followers "In the Guru's house spiritual and mundane powers shall be combined". He again said "My rosary shall be the sword-belt and on my turban I shall wear the emblem of royalty". (Macauliffe-IV, 2; Sarkar, A short history of Aurangzeb, 156). He instructed the Sikhs to keep a sword and a horse. Hargobind had given the same message as that of Guru Nanak, but he also added to it the challenge of a hero. The use of sword, bows and arrows and even a gun was a common thing for personal safety and security (See Dr. Hari Ram Gupta's page 156).

He had armed and drilled some of his sturdy disciples. He had possessed, a stable of seven hundred horses three hundred horsemen and sixty gunners (Topchi). Five hundred youngmen from Majha and nearby territories were recruited as infantry. One thing of great interest was that they believed that by fighting for the Guru in the cause of righteousness, they would be attaining salvation (Mukti). The Guru had demanded arms and horses as

gifts. He had built a fort at Amritsar as Lohgarh (a fortress of steel). In front of the Harimandir he built an Akal Takht (God's throne). There he sat on a raised platform, 12 ft high in princely attire. Harimandir was the seat of his spiritual authority and Akal Takht as the seat of his temporal authority. There he used to administer justice like a king in a court and used to award honours as well as punishments. Thus the Guru had created a government of his own like that of the Moghals.

In his article captioned "Miri" and "Piri" (A deliberate misrepresentation) (Times of India dated 25th July 1988), Dr Gopal Singh has doubted that the use of Guru's sword in so many words like "Even if the choice was deliberate the devout Sikhs resisted it." Bhai Gurdas, the great Sikh savant wrote some strongly worded verses against the new stance of the Guru as "Earlier the kings came to pay homage to the Gurus, now our forts are attacked by the kings. The followers, too, find no peace, for the Guru is ever on the go, and is terrified by nothing", etc. (Var 26 Pauri 24). I have replied these adverse comments of Dr Singh to be published in the relevant columns of *The Times of India*. After going through the verses (Vars) of Bhai Gurdas, I have come to the conclusion that Dr Singh has misconstrued the background of the said verse and Var. In as much as, Bhai Sahib had written all that to firstly express the doubts of the illiterate or people of lower strata and then make them understand the reality about the innerside of his personality. What Bhai Gurdas meant was that people should not be affected by the outer get up of the Guru's personality. By another example the eminent historian Prof. Ganda Singh had quoted a legend extracted from Punjab Sakhian Sakhi 39th page 241 of the Book "The Punjab past and present Vol- XIII".

The story goes like "Once the Guru was staying in Kashmir. There came a Sadhu to see him. He was a Deceani, Ramdas by name. Riding a horse, the Guru had returned from a hunt. Many Sikhs were there with him. He asked the Guru, "I had heard you occupied the gaddi of Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak was a tyagi sadhu—a saint who had renounced the world. You are wearing arms and keeping an army and horses. You have yourself called Sacha Badshah-A True King. What sort of a Sadhu are you?" Guru Hargobind said, "Internally a hermit, and externally a prince; arms mean protection for the poor and destruction for the tyrant. Baba Nanak had not renounced the world but had renounced Maya, the self and ego. Ramdas was pleased (to hear this) and said,

"This appealth to my mind" (Eh harmare man bhavati hai). (Sri Hanumant Swami's Sri Samarthanchi Bakhar, pp 22-23).

This statement of Maharashtra saint Ram Das, proves that the Guru's external get up did not show that he had changed the policy of Guru Nanak. How could then Bhai Gurdas misconstrue something adverse as stated by Dr Singh (his above quoted version). Dr Singh, instead of clarifying the position and removing the cause of misinterpretations (as used by him) had confounded the confusion deliberately or otherwise involuntarily. Further, he has not fully explained the quotations of Bhai Gurdas with reference to the context. In his article Dr Singh has tried to justify that according to our Gurus also politics was kept separate from religion. But this is an incorrect statement. He has also later on tried to confuse the issue by misquoting Guru Gobind Singh's verses in his article. I wish to attempt clarification of those issues in another article.

□

The
FORUM
Gazette

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Subscribers are requested to communicate any change of address without delay.

Please Inform:

Circulation Manager
The Forum Gazette
3 Masjid Road
Jangpura
New Delhi 110 014



With Best Compliments From



SATKARTAR ELECTRONICS

**Govt. Licenced Electrical Contractors.
Engineers & Consultants**

**Specialists in Electrification of
High Rise Buildings, Factories etc.**

**E-32, Hauz Khas Market
New Delhi-110016
Tele No. (Show Room) : 663575**

Banning Cannot Stop Struggle

Continued from page 7

tha as such, but we are fighting the government, because they get the weapons to shoot from the government."

Unfortunately our people have no means of fighting. They are just fighting barehanded and by any means they have to fight with. What I can say is that we are very proud that they have maintained this up till now. According to the strength of the Gatsha people with the weapons, we should long have been wiped out. But our people have kept up with the fight and they are very, very strong.

About three weeks ago, we visited Pietermaritzburg to meet solely with them and hear what the position was. We met comrades there and they told us they are prepared to fight for as long as Gatsha is fighting them, because what else can they do when they are attacked? - they must fight also. What they want is to be helped.

They say they have organised many people that are on our side; they have mobilised just ordinary people who do not know anything about politics, but, because they have seen what Gatsha is doing, they have sided with us. They say these are the people who must now be given political education and also the means of helping them to fight, if they have to fight.

Recently, there was a coup in Bophuthatswana and Mangope appealed to the Pretoria regime. What does it mean in political terms: Mangope, who claims to be independent, appealing to South Africa, and what were the reasons behind the coup?

Bophuthatswana is a thing that one just couldn't understand, because not very long ago Bophuthatswana was celebrating its tenth anniversary and what they were doing. Everybody was happy and everybody participated in such a way that one cannot understand that it took place. What surprises us is that, just before, there was a coup in December in Transkei.

The South African government didn't participate, didn't do anything. But immediately there was a coup in Bophuthatswana they took sides. Which means Bophuthatswana is the South African government's biggest baby, and, of course, being somewhere our people can use to enter South Africa, it must be so nasty as to never allow our people coming in.

The clamp down, that is, the new government measures to ban organisations - COSATU, UDF and others - what do you think are the implications of this and how are our people reacting to it?

We have been having a state of emergency for some time,

and we have been doing our things under the state of emergency for some time now. There is nothing that we stopped doing. At the funerals, when we are burying our comrades, we have been told that there must be only about 20 people there, and we are given little cards to enter the graveside and we are told that there must be no address of any kind except by the minister.

But our people have defied that order. We have recently buried that young man, Sicelo Dhlomo, and hundreds of people were at Regina Mundi, standing outside, and others were inside. When the coffin came out the regime arranged the Casspirs in between the people. They knew they had allowed only 200 people to get to the graveside. But the procession was not 200 people; it was all the people who were standing outside and inside.

All drove in the procession to the graveside. When we got to the graveside, near the entrance, we were stopped and asked to produce the papers, and it was only those people who had the papers who were allowed in.

The procession turned back and went home and the comrades sang and marched and everybody joined and followed. It was a procession that was like when we were going to that graveside, it was a complete defiance. The war plans were flying so low over our heads.

So banning cannot stop our struggle?

The banning will not stop our struggle. Some of our people were actually told not to address the gathering. They stood up at the funeral and addressed the people. There are many ways of addressing the people in the church. For instance, one of them just stands up and says, "Let's pray. I am now praying," and then, when he stands up, he speaks about the movement, the people who have gone or passed away, people who are away, and mentions all of those people, and that is addressing the people. It is not just praying. So that is complete defiance.

Nelson Mandela was 70 years old this year, on July 18th. What does this mean to our people?

What must I say? Mandela must not die in jail. We are going to call for his release. We will still call even during the banning orders, we will call for the release of Mandela and all political prisoners. We will go on calling for his release and the release of all political prisoners.

And this call has become a mass movement?

It has. People haven't forgotten them. No. We have even

been reminding the people of Rivonia. The Release Mandela Committee keeps on picking up on calendars. We are faced with the government taking away our calendars which of course we raise funds with. Every year we have a new calendar with sometime new. Last year and the other year we had all the Rivonia people on the calendar and that calendar was a threat.

But it was sold, and you would still find it in many houses. Some of the people have not met our leaders, and the calendars showed them one by one and it was an interesting thing for them to know that here was Mandela, Mhlaba, Kathrada and so on. They did not know, so that is what RMC does.

This year we had, "Remember Rivonia" on the calendar. We enumerated one by one all those who are serving life imprisonment. That is how we conscientise people and remind them of our leaders.

And of course Rivonia means ANC?

Yes! Not very long ago we asked the government to release Harry Gwala from gaol. We have stickers of his pictures circulating all over. We hoped it would have an impact but we don't know.

The question of stopping the execution of our people is a very serious one in South Africa. And we are appealing to the world to do something about it. Everybody is very much concerned in about it in South Africa. (From SECHABA).

International Conference On National Reconciliation In Kampuchea Opens

An international conference on "national reconciliation in Kampuchea and dialogue and cooperation in South-east Asia" opened in Phnom Penh on August 6.

The conference, jointly sponsored by the AAPSO and the Kampuchean Committee for Afro-Asian People's Solidarity was attended by delegations from Kampuchea, Vietnam, Laos, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Mongolia, the German Democratic Republic, India, Afghanistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Thailand, Bangladesh, France, Finland and four international organizations: the World Peace Council (WPC), the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP), the International Organisation of Journalists and the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).

Hun Sen, Chairman of the

Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs: Math Ly, President of the Federation of Trade Unions, and Yos Son, President of the Kampuchean AAPSO Committee, attended the conference.

In his opening speech, AAPSO Acting President Mourad Ghaleb expressed his satisfaction at the possibility to reach a solution for the mature Kampuchea issue and welcomed the dialogue among the countries and parties concerned with the Kampuchea issue which is actually a breakthrough in the search for a solution. He also hailed the growing process of national reconciliation in Kampuchea and expressed the hope that cooperation in Asia and the Pacific would open a new prospect for peace in the region.

Taking the floor, Chairman Hun Sen paid tribute to the great concern and support the world public has given to the policy of national

reconciliation of Kampuchea. He said: "Though some progress has been achieved at the informal meeting in Jakarta, the road to a political solution to the Kampuchea issue still faces numerous difficulties, because the prolonged conflict is related to many parties and countries. Moreover the Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot has put and is putting big obstacles to the national reconciliation and a political solution in Kampuchea. Therefore, to eliminate the Pol Pot remains the most vital question in the search for a political solution to the Kampuchean issue".

The participants unanimously adopted three messages to be sent to Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary General of the United Nations, Robert Mugabe, Chairman of the non-aligned movement, and to the people and government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. A final Communique was also released.

Defamation Bill

Continued from page 9

government. It has been given advance notice that the bill will be fought in every possible way and a large section of the press is

determined to publish and be damned.

Government cannot go ahead with the Bill further as opposition

to it has grown tremendously not only in the press and political parties but among Congress (I) workers themselves. The Bill has become lathel, a self-destructive course that the government should, at least by now, have realized.



Solar Energy Better Deal

By Subhash Chandra

How long will the oil last? Some 30 years from now, automobiles will screech to a halt, ships will lie stranded in the harbours, aeroplanes will not more drome across the skies - mankind's motion could virtually stop - because all oil reserves on earth would be more or less exhausted. That is the conservative estimate of scientists the world over.

Well, there is the optimistic view that mankind still has nuclear energy. But then even they agree that the strings attached to nuclear energy adds horrendous tones to it's use. Its feasibility with regard to mankind's survival is being questioned all over the world with the spectre of Chernobyl and Three Mile island haunting us. Will the answer be in falling back to coal, firewood, agricultural wastes and even animal dung?

Coal is no alternative since its reserves are also dying out, like oil. Moreover, the massive amount of energy which coal would have to replace, makes it an unrealistic and highly uneconomical proposition if we take into account the immense quantities required for a little energy and the attendant problems arising from its transportation, let alone the pollution accompanying it. Coal is simply outdated - it is a thing of the past as a universal source of energy. Tapping the rest are more dangerous than using nuclear energy, because of environmental and biological problems like soil erosion, deprival of soil nutrients, etc. The only outlet in sight is to lessen the use of conventional sources of energy and start exploring in the realm of the non-conventional.

The gravity of a situation where mankind could come to a virtual standstill has forced scientists all over the world to focus their attention to this problem, in which they have made some headway. They say the answer lies in the biggest nuclear reactor in the universe - the sun.

Solar Energy

Solar energy is the outcome of thermo-nuclear reaction of helium atoms. Solar radiation falling on the surface of the earth is equivalent to 170 trillion kilowatts a day, which means eight days of sunshine equals the total of all now available, sources of energy in our world put together. However, actual capacity of this perennial source of energy is beyond imagination.

For India, solar energy has special significance. Lying in the tropical belt, we have plenty of sunshine, and with 80 per cent of our population living in villages scattered all over the country, it will be far more convenient to have a

decentralised form of energy like solar energy. Realising the enormous potential of non-conventional energy sources, the Government is all out to exploit it to the maximum. Programmes like 'Urgagram' where some 5,000 villages are to be made self-reliant in energy using non-conventional energy sources testify to this fact.

Thermal energy is one of the basic requirement in all sectors of our economy, whether it be industrial, agricultural or domestic. Solar power can provide the best thermal energy requirements. Temperatures of all ranges can be achieved by solar energy including industrial applications and power generation (above 300°C). We have already successfully commercialised many items which belongs to low grade thermal technologies like solar water heater, solar air heater, solar crop dryer, solar de-salination systems, solar cookers, solar timber treatment plants, etc. Though these devices are capital intensive, they have very little maintenance and no running costs at all. In order to make these attractive to users, the Government has agreed to share the investment with the user.

New Schemes

Take for example, the solar cooker programme. Family size solar cookers are sold under this programme. Over 92,000 solar cookers have so far been sold and the target for 1987-88 is another 20,000. A central subsidy of about 33 per cent or Rs.150, whichever is less, is available to user. In addition to this, in some States, State subsidy is also available to users.

Medium and high temperature energy technologies like solar air conditioning/refrigeration, solar thermal pump, solar thermal power generation, solar industrial process heat, etc. are being developed by the Solar Energy Centre (SEC) of the Department of Non-Conventional Energy Sources (DNES) or sponsored at various research institutions including National Laboratories, IITs and Universities. Nearly 50 such research and development projects are currently under progress. Many of these have reached the field testing stages like the 30 ton solar absorption refrigeration plant at Deoria in Uttar Pradesh, the 5,000 lpd solar milk chilling plant at Bilaspur in Haryana and the 22 KW solar thermal plant at Salojipally village, Andhra Pradesh, to name a few.

SEC under DNES provides linkage between the R&D institutions and industry regarding solar thermal energy technologies. It makes pilot plant studies of tech-

nologies developed under R&D programmes or imported from abroad, field test these technologies and prepares detailed specifications so that the technology could be passed on to the industry for commercialisation. The Centre also conducts training courses and develops technical literature on solar thermal technologies for training manpower in this area.

Plastic Collectors

SEC has also successfully completed the first phase of a collaborative project with the Brookhaven National Laboratory of USA. Under this, light weight, highly efficient plastic collectors were tested at the Centre for their performance under Indian environmental conditions. The second phase of the project is not being carried out under which the technology for the manufacture of these collectors would be transferred to SEC. Many projects are also held under financial assistance from United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Photovoltaic Technology

Solar Photovoltaic technology enables generation of electricity directly from sunlight and is an important technique of utilising solar energy. It is considered to have significant potential in India

and is particularly suitable for application in remote and isolated areas and in villages which are not served by conventional electricity grids. DNES which is responsible for development, production and application of solar photovoltaic devices in the country have made considerable progress here. They in cooperation with R & D institutions, industrial organisations, State Renewable Energy Agencies, State Electricity Boards and Organisations such as the Rural Electrification Corporation and Railway Board has taken up a variety of activities relating to R&D, demonstration, commercialisation and utilisation of photovoltaic technology. The projects include photovoltaic street lighting systems, community lighting, TV systems, water pumping, battery charging and so on.

It is not that the tremendous potential of the sun has never been used. Traditionally, we have been using its energy for many purposes like drying of agricultural products and making salt. But, now taking into consideration the urgency of the situation, it is high time that our scientists, private industrialists and overall general public should pay more attention to Surya Deva, whose powers are described in different forms in Vedas and Puranic literatures. (PIB).

Citizenship Problem

Continued from page 18

No Half-hearted Attempt

If the people of the Terai—who have been contributing hugely to the political economy of the state since inception—are expected to contribute to political development and national integration in the true sense of the term, they must be provided with an appropriate environment for the same. The creation of this environment or linking the Terai people with the mainstream of the national life has to be the job of those who have been benefiting disproportionately from their share in the national cake for centuries. By doing so they would not be obliging the Terai people. They would instead be building a stable, strong and integrated state system in Nepal.

However, a large number of people will not be able to procure the citizenship certificates, even if they deserve it. It would have been more desirable that some positive steps were taken to give them these certificates".



Sunny. A shampoo that brings you nature's unique gift for beautiful hair.

Arnica: An important herb in homoeopathy that acts as a tonic. Controls falling hair and dandruff—gently, naturally.

And to top it all, Sunny's conditioner smoothens out tangles, making your hair silkier, more manageable. You'll love Sunny's special french fragrance too!

For best results massage **SUNNY ARNICA HAIR OIL** into scalp. Leave for 1—2 hours.

Apply **SUNNY ARNICA SHAMPOO** to wet hair. Work into lather. Rinse.

Manufactured by
Bakson Homoeo Pharmacy Private Ltd.
121 Okhla Industrial Area, Phase-I
New Delhi 110020

Discover
SUNNY
Arnica Shampoo
and rediscover the
beauty of your hair.

Available
at all
leading
stores.



SUNNY
Arnica Shampoo
with Conditioner.
Gentle, natural—
as only homoeopathic
herbs can make it.

R. K. SWAMY/BNP/5131/81

The concept of citizenship is as old and important as that of the state itself. Citizenship is the virtue which grants legitimacy to a group of people living in any particular territory. Besides, citizenship is a bridge between the people and the government and hence its contribution to national integration of any state is immense. Citizenship, on the other hand, is the device which allows any individual's participation in the political process of the state concerned. Moreover, it is an instrument which creates opportunities for the people's seizure of power in any democratic state. In a word, citizenship is a must for a respectable and participatory life in any modern state.

In a number of south Asian states the problem of citizenship has assumed titanic proportions today, since in most of these states competition for basic needs continues unabated and even gets accentuated from time to time. Obviously, these are underdeveloped or developing states. The immigration of people from one state to another in this region has also contributed to the complication of this problem. Had this immigration been voluntary, the problem would not have been so deep. However, as the people were taken from one state to another by their colonial masters and for specific purposes and as they continued to stay in their new land, the problem of citizenship got accentuated. The groups of people divided on the basis of ethnicity, religion and language add more complicated dimensions to this problem, which results in an uncontrollable social tension. Sri Lanka is a case in point.

Nepal's Complicated Problem

Like Sri Lanka, the Himalayan state of Nepal is also badly confronted with the problem of citizenship. Not that no attempt has been made to solve the problem. However, what seems obvious is the fact that no serious attempt has been made to sort it out in one go.

Voice has been raised in Nepal to solve the problem of citizenship ever since the government started distributing "citizenship certificates" to the Nepali people. A relevant and significant dimension of this problem has been that this has been affecting the people of the Terai or the plains only, leaving the people of the hills almost entirely unaffected. The governmental and administrative elites in Nepal have got as good play in the form of this problem to discriminate against the people of the Terai. Although different Terai leaders have been raising this issue from time to time, the problem got due recognition only during the Referendum of 1980—when the leaders from the hills also supported the

Citizenship Problem in Nepal's Terai: Solution And Complication

By Dr. Parmanand

demand for its solution. The government, on its part, showed magnanimity when it ordered the inclusion of all genuinely deserving people in the voters' list for the Referendum.

However, inclusion of anybody's name in the voters' list did not automatically mean grant of citizenship certificate to him. This issue was taken up more seriously in 1986 at the national legislature's level—after the second general election for Nepal's unicameral legislature, Rashtriya Panchayat, in that year. Again, members from both the regions spoke of the gravity of the problem calling for its immediate solution. Relevantly, the representatives from the Terai called for the grant of citizenship certificates on the basis of the 1980 voters' list. On his part, the newly elected Prime Minister, Marich Man Singh, promised to solve the problem in two to three years time.

Praiseworthy Step

His Majesty's Government of Nepal appointed the functionaries of the lowest hierarchy of the panchayat system, including the pradhan panchas of the village panchayats, chairman of wards and presidents of various class organisations—who can naturally claim to be in the know of the problem—to recommend the names of those deserving these certificates. These officials are converting people's temporary certificates into permanent ones—a praiseworthy step indeed! In addition, these functionaries are also including the names of those left out to facilitate their procurement of citizenship certificates.

On the other hand, thanks to the magnanimity of His Majesty's Government, the problem of those Indian women who used to force a lot of difficulties in procuring Nepali citizenship after their marriage with Nepali citizens, has also been eased. Earlier they had to face a lot of hindrances and technical bottlenecks before getting these certificates. Now they get citizenship certificates quickly and the Government of India is informed of it accordingly.

Chances of Complication

This magnanimity notwithstanding, some 20% genuinely deserving

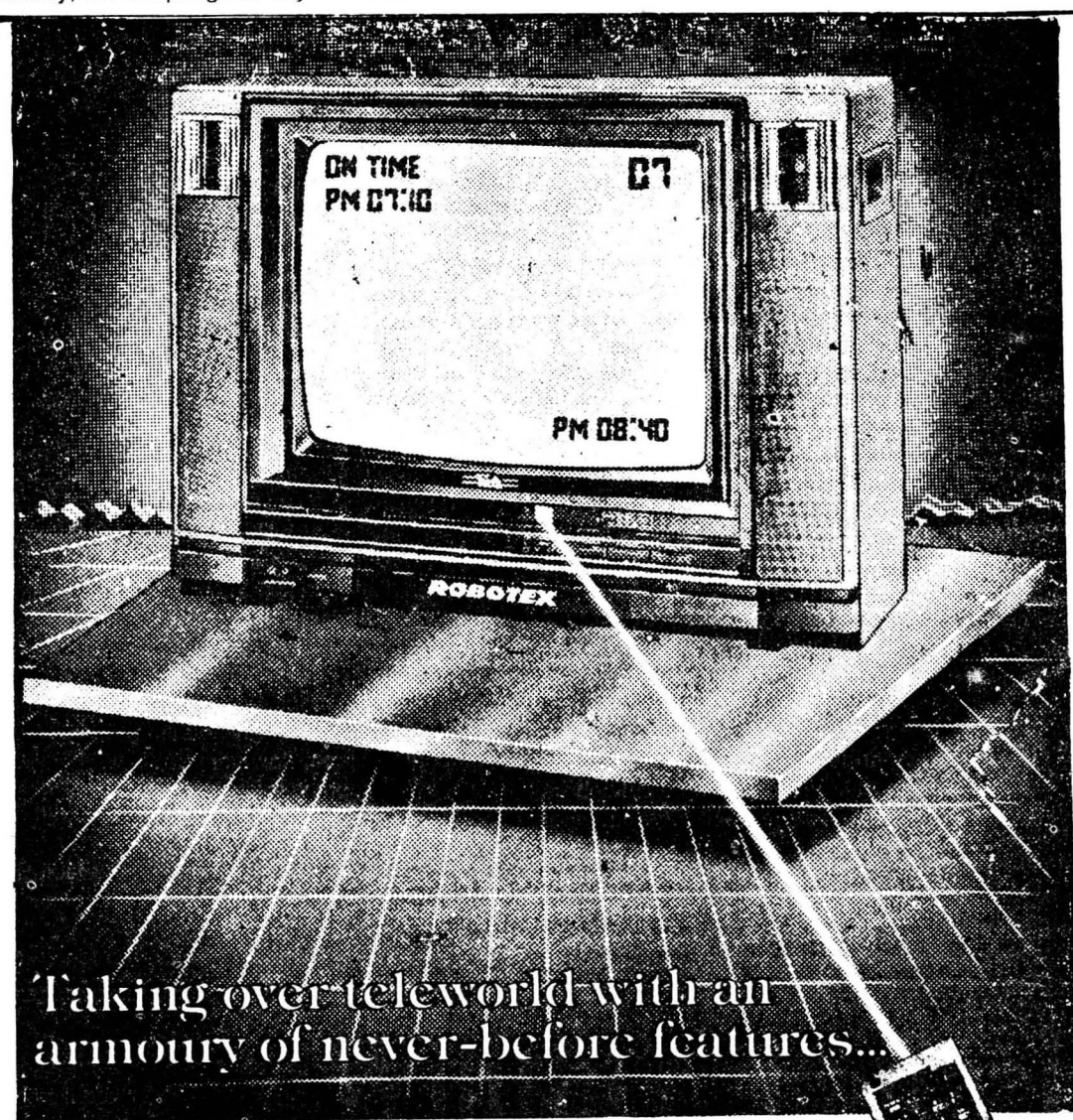
people would be able to get citizenship certificates due to the *modus operandi* adopted by the officials at this state. The offsprings of those who have got naturalized citizenship are not getting certificates; only their names are being registered. Normally, the offsprings of any

category's citizens should have got citizenship certificates without any hinderance. More irritatingly, those living in Nepal for more than 35-40 years are only getting their names registered, the problem being left to be solved in the near future only. Should the voters' list of the

Referendum be treated a basis, these people would easily get the citizenship certificates. The existing *modus operandi* will leave some 20% genuinely deserving people without certificates and they, in turn, will have to face an uncertain future for no faults of theirs. More importantly, a large number of them would not be able to procure jobs for themselves—even if they need such jobs badly—for they cannot apply in the absence of such certificates.

Gajendra Narayan Singh, the elected member of the Rashtriya Panchayat from the Saptari district, has been raising his voice constantly for the solution of the problem both inside and outside the house. He told me recently, "steps are being taken by His Majesty's Government under the instructions given by the King."

Continued on page 15



Flying in from the unexplored vistas of tele-technology. Robotex ... programmed to enamour you with its magnetic looks and conquer teleworld with its armoury of sophisticated features. Some, which you may have never seen before.

Robotex. Fusing technological wizardry with style to place luxurious tele-watching at your finger-tips with a feather touch 28-key remote control.

- Automatic SWITCH-ON/SWITCH-OFF facility to ensure that you do not miss out on your favourite programmes.

- Special ON-SCREEN DIGITAL CLOCK showing the hr./min. AM/PM time.
- 6 COLOUR-11 ITEM ON-SCREEN DISPLAY indicating timer setting, tuning accuracy, volume, brightness, colour, contrast etc.
- SLEEP TIMER facility to programme the set to switch off by itself after 90, 80, 70, 60, 50, 40, 30, 20 or 10 minutes.
- Sophisticated 28-KEY REMOTE CONTROL HAND-SET that puts you in full command.
- Two-way DUAL SPEAKERS.
- PANEL LOCK to make pre-set controls tamper proof.

ROBOTEX

Tex'n

... a breed apart! The right choice

naa/ND/TX-88